/334 cont./

241 Before taking possession of a new plot of land the
423 Chiriguano is always careful to make sure that there is no trace
243 of previous cultivation. Otherwise the former owner or his
[685] descendants would have the right to lodge a complaint against him to the chief of the village.

[824] The Chiriguano makes known his new property right by planting any edible plant before the rainy season, for example, the large squash (gindako-wasu) which spreads everywhere and is not smothered by the underbrush. He can equally well insure possession of the chosen terrain by knocking down the underbrush all around and making big gashes in the trees (1).

[191] 1. Compare this manner of insuring property rights with the method observed by the Caxinawa /Cashinawa/ in the same circumstances: "I saw (an Indian is speaking) rising ground which is suitable for a planting. I am going to make a planting for this summer. I broke many branches on this hill to mark this excellent place. No one can make his clearing on this hill. This hill is excellent; do not go there to make your planting." (Abreu, p. 69.)

241 In the middle of the dry season, say, in August, the
243 Indian, with a long stick sharp on both sides, fells the underbrush which encumbers his future field and sets fire to it. This operation has the further advantage of fertilizing the soil, thanks to the bed of ashes, which is a rather good fertilizer.

The cultivated fields are usually cleaned up after the harvest.
[231] The domestic animals, who feed there with little expense, are first let out there, and then the fields are set afire.

[221] Sowing takes place in the month of November when the first
[821] rainstorms have softened the soil. This time is announced by the appearance of the Pleiades (itsu) above the horizon early in the morning.

/345 cont./

433 224 198 Outside these official expeditions they doubtless used to hunt for pleasure or simply to interrupt the monotony of their menu.

224 411 [223] Quadrupeds were killed with arrows with lanceolate tips, originally of wood, today of iron (Plates VIII and IX, 2); small game, with arrows tipped with a barbed wooden rod (Plate IX, 3-5). Birds were taken in traps or felled with a special arrow having a splayed ferrule (Plates X-XI).

224 [231] Anyone who has seen the little dogs of the Chiriguano Indians, with elongated /346/ muzzle, pointed ears, short hair, and arched tail will ask with surprise how animals so miserable, stupid, and snappish could have been trained to render service to man. Nevertheless, such seems to have been the case. For hunting the peccary, for example, the Indians employ the dogs, who track them and /Figs. 12 and 13 appear here/ force them to hide in their dens, from which they are smoked out and felled with blows of a stick when they try to run away. At least this is how the inhabitants of the village of Saladito (upper Pilcomayo) told me they had killed a peccary which they showed me at the time I was there.

433 224 184 For the modern Chiriguano, hunting has lost its reason for existing as an activity having an economic character, except perhaps /Plates VIII, IX, X, and XI appear here/ /347/ /Fig. 14 appears here/ for those of this nation who live [352] [412] in the region of the upper Pilcomayo. At least this is the impression I had after examining their huts: the bedsteads or wooden cots were often covered with peccary skins and the old deerhorn awls (Fig. 12) numerous enough to be able to be exchanged for a trifle. The relative abundance of these objects proves that among the Indians hunting has not been relegated /Fig. 15 appears here/ to the rank of a simple sport and that it keeps, at least in part, its past importance. [799] The contrast is striking if one then goes into the zone of the Franciscan missions: there, more peccary skins, more [411] perforators made of deerhorn, more ostrich feathers. In the villages of the upper Pilcomayo there is no cabin, poor as it may be, in which a bow and a bundle of arrows are not slipped

[Text Continues on P. 89]

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Fig. 14. Hunting throw. Chiriguano. The point is formed by an iron rod to which a nail has been fastened to form a barb. This point is held in the shaft by means of a wooden peg Prov.: - Nawirendi. (1/4 nat. size.)

Fig. 15. Upper tip of a lonero (long wand with a noose at the end, with which the Chiriguano catch wild parrots they have attracted by means of tame ones). Prov.: Ivu. (1/3 nat. size.)

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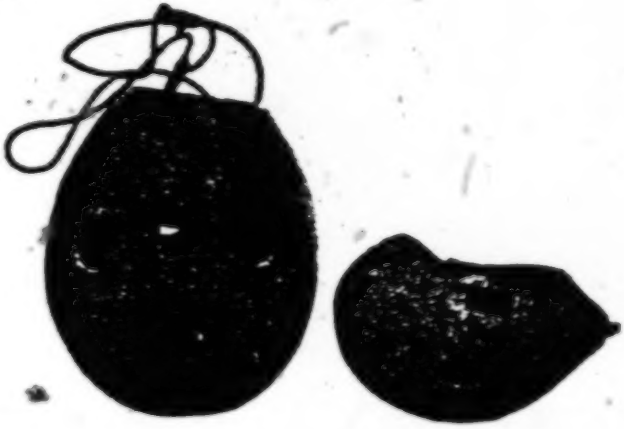
Fig. 16. Perch with troughs for tame parrots which the Chiriguano use for catching wild ones. Prov.: Ñawirenda. (1/10 nat. size.)



231
415
825

Fig. 17. Perforated calabashes in which the Chiriguano put chicks to protect them from birds of prey. Prov.: a, Carurutí; b, Ibopeytí. (1/4 nat. size.)

/348 cont./

287 439 [484] [435] half-breed villages. For the meager profits which this trade brings them they undertake long trips and even go as far as Sucre, where they are paid two to three pesos for each feather duster.

224 178 231 433 Hunting lost its importance from the day when the Chiriguano began to have cattle. Already about 20 years ago, those who /Plate XII appears here/ /349/ had several sheep, goats, cows, or even chickens did not take the trouble to accompany their comrades into the bush in search of game. What is the use of tiring oneself out running after peccaries for long days and risking getting oneself disemboweled or coming back empty-handed if just by staying home one can treat one's guests with some roast of meat or chicken broth?

231 435 [464] [465] The price of cattle has gone down a good deal these last years, and the Indians no longer need to go to the sugar mills of Argentina in order to come back with a cow or two in recompense for four to five months of hard work. Goats, sheep, and pigs are valued at two to four pesos apiece and it is often even a question of "prices for foreigners." A cow currently costs from 25 to 30 pesos, and an economical Indian has the means to acquire several during his life. Little by little, in each village modest herds have been formed, which the Indians care for like treasures. They husband them carefully, like all primitive peoples who raise cattle. They almost never kill their cow, and they sacrifice only rarely a goat or a sheep to their gluttony (1). In showing themselves to be so economical

471 231 [435]

[262] [178]

1. In former times they used to feel an unconquerable repugnance toward pork, which is dissipating nowadays (Nino, p. 252).

they are not obeying any superstition but simply are afraid to 556 diminish their capital. The wealth of an Indian is gauged by the number of his cows; and, in their Spanish jargon, "vacudo" /vaca, "cow"/ is a synonym for rich (2). Some of them have a

2. An Indian of Ñawirenda had as many as 40 head of cattle.

[Text Continues on p. 93]

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Fishing.—Fishing is worth while only for those *Chiriguano* and *Chané* who live along the upper Pilcomayo or Bermejo Rivers and, to lesser extent, for the *Chané* of the Parapeti and Itiyuro Rivers. Methods of fishing vary somewhat with the regions. Along the Pilcomayo River, fish are caught with iron hooks, with dipnets, similar to those of the Chaco Indians, with the bow and arrow, and with long two-pronged spears. Fishing baskets are used in combination with stone dams (fig. 57).

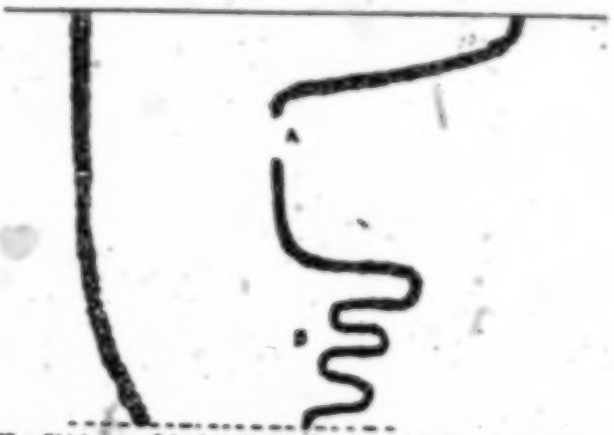


FIGURE 57.—*Chiriguano* fish dam in the Pilcomayo River. *A* is entrance; *B* are pockets where fish are caught. (Redrawn from Nordenskiöld, 1930, fig. 14.)

Among the *Chané* of the Itiyuro, fishing is done almost exclusively by women and children. They use hooks, but more often they capture fish in small ponds which they cut from the main stream by means of weirs. They also catch small fish in narrow-necked gourds into which they place chicha dregs as a bait. The *Chané* of the Parapeti scoop fish with nets or shoot them with arrows tipped with a bundle of cactus thorns (Nordenskiöld, 1912, pp. 184–185).

Domesticated animals.—Modern *Chiriguano* raise sheep, cattle, horses, and chickens. Their dogs are so completely mongrel that their European or Indian origin cannot be ascertained. The *Chiriguano* were probably acquainted with chickens when they arrived in their present territory, for they use a *Guaraní* term for them. Pets are not numerous in their villages; most of them are parrots which were captured by means of a noose attached to the end of a long pole. In order to approach the wild birds, the Indians use tame parrots and decoys.

Cooking.—Maize is prepared in a great many ways. The grains are eaten on the cob, roasted in special pans, boiled in water, or ground into flour, which is served with every meal. One method of preparing maize flour is to steam it in a perforated bowl.

/9 cont./

133 312 231 At this point the river disappears completely from the month of June to December or January, forcing the farmers to make great excavations in its bed in order to be able to water their livestock; they have to go down to five meters in certain places. The course of the now dry river is easily seen, because in the season of great floods it leaves on the bank all the trash which it drags along and in its bed all the sand; the waters reappear to form the San Miguel River in the province of Velasco.

133 312 /10/ The benefit that agriculture and cattle raising draws from the Parapiti is indisputable; without it the existence of Parapiti and Isoso cantons would be almost impossible. All the wealth of both areas would disappear, there would be no livestock, sugar plantations, or rice fields as there are now on both banks, which lend themselves marvelously to the opening of canals and irrigating the sugar-cane fields which abound there. Nevertheless, the extraordinary floods of certain years do much damage, making plantations and their equipment disappear almost completely.

136 This river contains few fish; there are only bagre and shad and others of little value; the big dorados do not exist and there are only a few small ones in its tributary, the Piray River, but strangely they do not enter the Parapiti; at the confluence they go back. Below the San Francisco Mission the fish disappear, because the water diminishes until it almost all disappears near Mariqui.

24 31 312 In Isoso maize is planted in the month of June in order to harvest the crop before the beginning of the big floods which inundate it all, and during the rainy season they are content to sow frijoles, gourds, melons, and watermelon far from the riverbed, but fruit is not always produced, since the region is rather arid. The waters of this river are quite sweet, and this must be one reason why agriculture is very vigorous on its banks, as any traveler can see.

/33/

The large armadillo is slightly less than one vara long; its burrow corresponds to its size and even more, and not infrequently the wild boar or peccary, when chased by hunters and dogs, finds a safe refuge in these holes. The meat of the large armadillo is not so good for civilized people, but that of the others is: I have eaten it many times. The fat softens the tumors and gristle in it. Armadillos feed on worms. Nevertheless, the true armadillo is harmful to the maize fields when they are newly planted, because it searches out and eats the seeds: it is also very harmful in melon patches, of which it scarcely leaves a slender shred: when it gets into the melons, it does not allow any to ripen. The Indians know well where the armadillo abounds: as soon as they finish planting the maize, on nights with a moon or without it, they go there and, helped by hunting dogs, kill them.

COBAYO /guinea pig/. -- This little animal is innocuous and plentiful everywhere. Its places are the fences, where it hides with ease. It is similar to large rats without a tail; its meat is very tasty, and bags in which smokers store tobacco, tinder, and flint are made from its skin. When it sees a hunter or believes that danger is near, it hastens to hide in the thickness of the fences, but when the hunter hides, it is not long in coming out again in search of food, morning and evening, and then it is easy to kill with arrow or shotgun. The Chiriguano call it "Aperea." There is another sort of multicolored guinea pig of the same size as the previous one, but this one is domesticated. The color of the true guinea pig is light brown.

CONEJO /rabbit/. A quadruped in the wild state, native to America. It is the size of a large cat. Its color is a shaded white, and here there are none of any other color, but there are in other parts of South America: its meat is delicious, and the Indians like it and hunt it; its form is the same as that of the domestic rabbit, and in the Chiriguano language it is called "Tapiti."

/33 cont./

*136 CORSO /deer/. -- This is found everywhere and is called
*825 "Huasu" by the Chiriguano and hurina by the whites; there are even white ones, the females without horns and the males with them; another type is called "huasucaca." Both feed off
● [231] grass, and the little ones are pleasing with their hide dappled with light spots; they are easily domesticated while they are still nursing; for food, when they are domesticated, goat's or sheep's milk can be used. The huasucaca is very similar to the deer; both male and female have branched antlers when old, but /34/ their meat is not as good. They travel in herds.
[262] Hunters pursue both types because they have a lot of meat, for
[224] which reason they are called "huasu," which means "large." They hunt them with considerable work and with the help of dogs trained for the purpose, or, if they are hidden, they imitate their bleating or cracking sound, and when they come
[281] within bowshot, they do not miss in killing them. The
[291] Chiriguano tan the skin of these animals and make a jacket from it, which I shall discuss in its place, but today this de luxe Chiriguano garment is disappearing, nor do they tan leather any more; today they use these skins for their beds; it is nonetheless a perfect material for footwear because of its natural softness and smoothness.

*136 GAMO /fallow deer/. -- It seems that this class of animal is from the mountainous and temperate region; it is not found beyond Monteagudo, nor do the Indians here know it, but it used to be found and still is found in their former territory of Padilla, Tomina, Tarvita, etc. This is the fallow deer, the size of a goat, with cloven hoof, ash-gray in color, and quite a swift runner; it is herbivorous, quite edible, and goes in herds.

GUANACO. -- This is a kind of camel, from which it differs in size and because it does not have a hump. They are found in abundance at the top of the high hills of Potosí and other cold mountains; it thus seems that the hills and the cold must be congenial places and the only ones in which they can prosper. Nevertheless immense herds of this quadruped can be found in the pampas of the Gran Chaco, where the heat is oppressive and where there is nearly always a scarcity of water; it is easily domesticated and in this state is a real llama.

/37 cont./

ooo to climb a strong tree. The young[1] are quickly domesticated
*136 and more than the domestic pig: they will not go away from
● 231 the person who was kind to them when they were little. One of these piglets was domesticated by the apprentice musicians of the Parapiti, was with them day and night without bothering them, and when they came out of the music hall to practice marches through the town, the peccary would go along in front of them, making a thousand faces and hopping about to the sound of the instruments.

*136 PORCUPINE. -- This small animal is not numerous, but
*825 it is found. It gets into chicken coops, which are generally located in trees. According to what I have heard, it is not harmful and merely likes the company of the hens at night, but the latter are afraid of it, as they are of any strange animal. Its skin is entirely covered with long, flexible quills, and when it sees itself pursued, it humps up and throws the said quills with so much force that they injure any part of the body. It [824] is sometimes hunted because of the chickens, but not for eating. The Chiriguano call it "Cñi." If a dog bites it, it gets its mouth full of quills which cause pain.

TAMANDUA /anteater/. -- This is an innocuous wild animal which is easily domesticated. It has a very long, narrow snout, which it introduces into ant hills, and it takes its delicious lunch with its tongue, to which an infinity of ants stick. In the domesticated state it even feeds on milk, but it is painful to watch it sip this liquid drop by drop with its exceedingly slender tongue. Apparently males are unknown in this species of animal, and it seems that all of them belong to the female sex. It is very probable, however, that all the individuals of this species are members of both sexes, despite the fact that only the female sex is apparent in them.

The anteater, or tamandua, is inoffensive and does not [824] bother the fields: rather it destroys ants. The Indian hunts it [262] in order to eat it, because for him almost all meat is good, since he says that he is poor and thus avails himself of anything, even poisoned animals and those that have died of hydrophobia.

[1] [i.e., of the peccary. -Analyst]

/40 cont./

224 animal is capable of distinguishing between the brave and
*[825] the cowardly, and the latter is the first to be attacked and consequently to be badly injured.

*825 Jaguar skin, as I have already said, has intrinsic value:
[554] it is used in saddleries for the bottom padding of saddles and
[284] for saddlebags: it is a luxury for persons of rank. The ani-
[759] mal has a quantity of fat, and this is a good remedy for
[439] rheumatism, aching bones, and other ailments: the Indians take it and sell it in the interior of the Republic and trade it for used clothing. It is to be noted, however, that they do falsify it, as they also falsify snake grease, because it can be understood that the killing of this ferocious animal is not a
[462] frequent thing. Rarely does the Chiriguano hunt the jaguar, and he is not always inclined to help the white man, but the latter forces his peons to do so, and they gather the fat and
[462] sell or present it to their friends or relatives. Jaguar meat is good food, although, to be sure, it smells wild, as does the skin, but this meat, if placed in salt water or brine overnight, loses its bad smell: they assert that this meat is like that of a cow.

*136 The male jaguar is quite large. I measured one, and it was two meters long from the tail, one meter high, and it weighed seven arrobas. The female is smaller: I measured one that had just been killed: from the tail it measured one meter and ten centimeters, was 75 centimeters high, and
[231] weighed four and a half arrobas. The female gives birth every three years, and the newborn cubs are always a pair, one male and one female: the mother is most dangerous when she has young /illustration appears here/ /41/ and defends them at any cost, but hunters first kill the mother and then try to catch the cubs alive: they almost always succeed and take them home to domesticate them, but this is an impossible job because they are jaguars forever: I have seen two of these cubs well chained but very bad. In general, cubs when taken away from their mother die in a few days either through lack of adequate food, which is milk, or also out of desperation upon finding themselves in the midst of beings foreign to their nature.

/45 cont./

*136 The Chiriguano hunts and kills the fox as a mischievous
*825 and harmful animal, but he does not eat its meat because
[824] it is very strong and lean; /45/ he does eat it occasionally,
[822] when he finds it to be fat, airing it so that it may lose its bad
[867] odor; it is a common food of the Toba Indians. The children
entertain themselves with this poor animal, catching it alive
and making it fight with the dogs, who kill it slowly.

*136 I here bring to an end this brief resumé of the principal
quadrupeds by size, ferocity, and special characteristics.
I have omitted the description of many because they are found
in other regions, and others because they do not offer anything
unusual for consideration. Rats are plentiful and in some years
invade the towns. There is no lack of female foxes /zorras/,
• [231] which are easily domesticated; the ferret is rarely seen and is
very nervous and harmless, but it has the peculiarity of hunting
all the insects in a house.

Reptiles, Amphibians, Fish, and Insects

It is not necessary for me to dwell particularly and extensively on the types of living things indicated at the beginning of this section, because they are found in every region of the world; I shall describe the singular peculiarities of the known ones and the nature of some which are peculiar to this place and to South America.

*825 Almost all the snakes here are poisonous because the place
[231] is very hot, but the most poisonous is the rattlesnake; it
operates rapidly with its fang, and only with immediate
cauterization can the patient free himself of its death-dealing
effects, while the boa, which is thick and long, is harmless,
so much so that some domesticate it and put it into their
cane fields so that it will scare off every harmful beast, even
the fox which, as we have seen, is the animal which does the
most damage to the sugar cane.

/61 cont./

136 [231] Both types are very delicious, but the charata is best. Charatas are easily domesticated when small. The male is very ferocious in the domesticated state, attacks everybody, even the people of the house. The charatas make a great racket before sunrise with their strong and repugnant cackling. Cuevo is some 30 leagues from Paraguay and a little more than two from the Yvo Mission; a charata is neither seen nor heard in the former region or in its vicinity, but an occasional pair of them is found in the latter, and as one goes north from this mission toward Paraguay, the number of these birds increase.

[225] PELICAN. -- This bird is called "Tanga" in Chiriguano, because when it sings it seems to be saying, "Tangá, Tingá, Tangá." River banks and lake shores are its locale. There it finds its food. It feeds on newly born toads, which have a little tail, and it also eats small fish. It sleeps in trees and flies perfectly in spite of its size. It flies at a great height, and along its way it sings every so often, and the Indians say that when the pelican sings rain is near. This bird is not numerous; they always go by twos and sometimes threes. [242] Their meat is good to the Chiriguano.

PERDIZ /partridge/. -- This type of bird is not lacking either in the Chiriguano area. Partridges are of three types, each larger than the other. They live in the pampas, in the woods, and in the hills. In the idiom the true partridge is called "Inambu," the second, which has a preference for the hills, is called "Guáico," and it whistles like muleteers who are driving asses. The third, which is the codornis /quail/, is called /??/ "Inambu tuch." There is a fourth large partridge, which is like the first, but red in color, and for this reason is called "Inambu pinta," but the guáico is the [223] largest of them all. The Indians hunt all of them with the help of dogs trained for this purpose.

PICAFLOR /hummingbird/. -- Many of these birds are seen, but it seems that there is only one species here. These are the smallest ones, and in Chiriguano the picaflor is called "Chino." It can hang its nest on any little branch of a tree and also in the straw or hollow cane of the roofs. It is only

/63 cont./

439 171 them in the area around the place called Basilio, and they take them in cages to the Argentine Republic.

*136 TOUCAN. -- A very unusual bird because of its long beak, which is almost as long as its body. This beak is yellow, red, and black, but very light; otherwise, since it is so large, it would be difficult to hold up. One who for the *[825] first time sees a toucan, called "Tunca" in Chiriguano, thinks that it is carrying an ear of maize in its beak. Toucans go in large flocks and have their favorite places; I know only [757] one variety of them. It is said that the beak, when ground up *[825] and taken in water, stops the flow of blood. It seems that the toucan only lives in hot climates. If it is taken to other places, it dies.

URRACA /magpie/. -- This flying creature is rather large and abundant. There are several species of them, •[231] differentiated by their plumage. It is easily domesticated, and it is useful in the houses, because it kills all of the bugs or insects which multiply in them, but its size is no larger than that of the toucan. It is as restless and noisy in the houses as it is in the woods.

121 I here put an end to this brief description of the land inhabited by the Chiriguano and what is contained therein. All will understand that I did not attempt to discover and describe minutely each and every one of the plants, each and every one of the quadrupeds, amphibians, and insects, each and every one of the birds, but only those which seemed to me to be of the most importance. If it seems to my readers to be too much, or too little, they will be so kind as to excuse my faults; meanwhile, I am going to begin the real ethnography, which will be somewhat long so that it may be clearer and more pleasant. /64/ /Illustration appears here./

/144 cont./

Genii

776 171 Where ignorance dominates, superstition is the result, I imagine, since all the tribes adjacent to the Chiriguano must believe in the existence of genii or owners of certain places who, not to offend anybody, are even accepted by some members of the white race, especially when dealing with buried treasures. This is not the least strange, since before the arrival of Christ all humanity, except for the Hebrews, believed in this, and even today in those places where the light of the Gospel has not penetrated a belief in genii prevails, even among enlightened people, because only the Gospel dissipates /illustration appears here/ /145/ the mists from the soul and destroys error, consequences of the fall of the first man.

778 776 In Chiriguano the tutelar genii of a place are called Iya, owner in the literal sense. If the Chiriguano pass by places where there is some genie, they find it difficult to approach, and if one asks them where there might be some limestone or gypsum, they will not tell for fear of the Iya, who would take revenge by killing the Chiriguano who caused the place watched over by the genie to be discovered. If something useful must be taken from such a place, they do it with the permission of the Iya (1).

[278] [317] [231]

1. The presence of the Iya in places where petroleum is found is undeniable for the Chiriguano. They will take what is absolutely necessary of this liquid to cure the sores of their horses, cows, etc.

135 When the San Buenaventura Mission was founded, the missionary made every effort to try to find gypsum and limestone, but no Indian was willing to tell where it was abundant. Nevertheless, by chance, while the foundations of the church were being built, it was discovered that many of the stones being used were of hydraulic lime, an abundant vein of which was found about 300 meters from the church itself on top of a hill. Gypsum up to today has not been found in the areas thereabouts for the same reason, but there are signs of its presence. In

/184 cont./

323 [237] the force of the heat and remains over the paintings like a binder, without which they would disappear the first time it was used. The Taragüirisi remains on the vessels like a light coat of rubber and the white of the Tovanti becomes opaque (2).

2. When a pot is slightly damaged, they heat it in the fire and on the inside and outside apply the Taragüirisi, and it is as good as before.

/185/ Textiles

286 462 [294] Another important occupation of the Chiriguano woman is weaving the Asoya for her husband, brother, or son, and the Cutama for herself. For this she prepares the wool or cotton, spins it opposite the way the mestizo and European women spin, and then bleaches it and finally dyes it.

286 In order to weave, they set up two tall, slender forked sticks in the house, with two sticks across, one above and one below, and arrange or place the threads vertically, and then sit on the ground and begin to run the woof through, thread by thread, which they hit with a pointed stick of soto wood called Piuca. This, to be sure, is time consuming, if the threads are fine, but, on the other hand, the work is very durable.

291 286 231 249 [184] [177] Ponchos, Asoya, are of two types, one of wool and one of cotton; the first are common from the right bank of the Parapiti River southward and the second from the left bank northward, because in the first region sheep are plentiful, and in the second, cotton fields. Formerly, before the whites introduced cattle into the region, cotton was cultivated everywhere, and from its product the men were dressed for ceremonies in their Tíru and the women in the Mandu, which I shall discuss in the following chapter.

/241 cont./

Modern Farming and Seeds

241 177 [407] Today planting with the spade is disappearing, and if this tool is necessary for weeding, an iron one has been substituted. The plow has become general, as have the yoke and oxen, and in the missions even boys of 12 break in oxen two and a half years old. They first do the planting for the mission, then for themselves and their fathers, and finally they help those who have no sons; the missionary provides them with young oxen, plowshares, and even halters when they are very poor.

The neophytes in most of the Potosí missions have learned to perfection this new method of farming, and they are so advanced that they are competitive with and even superior to many mestizo farmers. The older ones teach the younger ones, fathers teach their sons, and the latter as well as the former manufacture plow and yoke out of selected wood with all the perfection that these implements require. It is satisfying to see upon a farm 40 or 50 yokes of oxen, directed and driven by young men and boys who yesterday were like their grandparents! The whites themselves do their planting on a large scale, aided by these Chiriguano, who receive in exchange double daily wages (1).

[868] [409] [231] 46

1. A peon plowman is not obliged to bring oxen; it is the white who waits for him with the yoke hitched. If a peon brings his own, he earns up to triple daily wages, because they are worth exactly three strong peons, the two oxen and the man who drives them. Thus it is not much to pay him triple.

243 262 Today it seems to me that there must not be another country where the different types of maize thrive better. This is the principal element, the daily food, not only of the Chiriguano tribe, but of all those who inhabit most of Bolivia. Here in particular, when there is no harvest, its lack is greatly felt by whites and blacks, that is to say, by mestizos and by Chiriguano.

/249 cont./

Hunters

224 So that there may be plenty of food at the public drinking, the men, as soon as they have finished the job of bringing in firewood, take their bows and arrows, and horses if they have any, and go hunting. The places are suitable for the purpose: some hunt Taitetu, wild boars; others pursue the Yandu, ostrich; many go in search of Picasuguasu, large pigeons, Yeruti, turtledoves, Picúi, little doves. They also hunt: Guasu, /250/ pygmy deer; Sariama, chuñas /cranes/; Ayuru, parrots; and Tatu, quiriquinchos /armadillos/ (1).

[262] 1. The armadillos are of several types; the meat of the Taturapúa, balled armadillo, is not good, because it feeds on carcasses; the meat of the rest is better than that of the pig /chancho/; it is not harmful like that of the latter.

[251] The hunters take some 15 or 20 days to return, but as they take game, they cut it open, clean it, and dry it in the sun, so that it will not spoil, because they do not carry salt, since they do not have it, for making jerky or charqui.

224 23 Almost all the Chiriguano are hunters, and the infinite number of dogs that they keep in their houses have the ability to pursue the wild boar, the quiriquincho /armadillo/, the ostrich, the chuña /crane/, or the pygmy deer. These dogs are almost like Old World wolves, with pointed ears and a curled tail; they are so skinny they look like harps, so bad with mestizos and whites that it seems that they have learned to hate them as their owners do, and they are so attached to the latter that they never leave their side. They go with them everywhere; it is not unusual to see an Indian who is going to the field followed or preceded by eight or ten dogs, who are falling down from being so thin, and yet, should they flush a pygmy deer or a chuña, they will not let it get away. To walk alone at night through a Chiriguano town is to expose oneself to being eaten alive by these hungry tigers who all gather when the first one barks.

/250 cont./

224
184 Although all the Indians are hunters, not all can or go to hunt; some stay in town to help the women put the jars /cántaros/ in the plaza, and others do not go because they have other food available for their friends. Some of them have goats and sheep, others even chickens and cows; these take pride in being able to offer their friends in the public plaza chicken soup, or one of lamb or kid, or a succulent roast of veal, since there is no doubt that anyone would prefer fresh meat to charqui or dried meat of wild animals.

[231]
[574]

Animals

231

From the little that has been said with reference to animals it can be deduced that the Chiriguano have some, and they are the horse, ass, mule, cow, sheep, goat, chicken, and dog; all of them have Spanish names, /251/ except the chicken, Uru, and the dog, Yáimba. It is possible that these last are native, that is, that the Chiriguano have always had them, since they have their own name in the language; but if one reflects a little some doubt rises in the mind. The chicken, so it seems to me, is called Uru by the Chiriguano because it has some resemblance to the turkey buzzard, which they call Urugũi and which is a species of crow. The dog is called Yáimba in Chiriguano, no doubt because he is very faithful to his master, Ya, which really means owner-master, and Imba, beast, so that the dog turns out to be a special beast which, more than others, loves its owner or master, and I say this because other tribes who are neighbors of the Chiriguano and are in a complete state of savagery do not have the dog, from which it can be deduced that they acquired it when the Spaniards entered their country (1).

[177]

1. For my opinion to be complete and closer to the truth, the word Imba should have an h; nevertheless, I do not give this as more than an opinion. The literal meaning of the word Yáimba would be: beast of the owner.

/255 cont./

those of certain peoples who, without going further, are close to those who know nothing about civilization, whose morals, compared with those of these unfortunates, are far lower because of their refinement (2).

2. Some moderns would have civilization consist of purely material education without attending to the yearnings of the heart; for them it is all the same whether man dresses or goes naked.

527 In the course of this chapter my readers will learn that I can be little mistaken in what I stated above, and they will also learn that even the Chiriguano have fiestas, which they call Arete, which /256/ are celebrated neither for saints, emperors, nor kings, nor are they celebrated in a disorderly fashion, nor do they allow themselves to be disemboweled by a bull, as sometimes happens to mestizos or Spaniards; much less are they celebrated for open abandonment to luxury; they are celebrated only in order to drink and stuff oneself, and to enjoy the fruit of the labor involved in the planting of the maize, to have a few days of general rejoicing, to drink, in sum, like good brothers (1).

[526]

1. In the general drinking a certain immorality in their words is to be lamented, and they sometimes test their strength and valor with pugilism.

Before the Fiesta

241 231 177 Before the white race entered the region, cattle were almost unknown and the few that the Indians had were tame, nor had they taken to their hearts the desire for maize as they do now; thus the Chiriguano easily did his planting and weeding in less than a month, leaving the rest to God, but I speak badly, to the good sorcerer, the sun, and the rain. Today if he does not put a fence around his planting, the cattle of the Christians and the Indians very soon reach the crop, and a little carelessness is

/256 cont./
241 enough for this. Although there are good fences, there are better
231 and braver bulls or calves, who with their horns are capable of
177 opening iron gates, opening the way to all their females, whom they then call with much affection with their prolonged bellows (2).

2. The harmful cattle even become ferocious; if a man alone tries to chase them out of the field without the help of good dogs, he will be charged.

241 The harvest marks for the Chiriguano the time of the year
221 that he calls Mbaepiro, which literally means a dry thing or things, and everyone will understand that this corresponds to autumn, in which season the trees and every bush take off their beauty and raiment. [343] Men and women then are busy carrying in what the land has produced for them; the maize crop is kept in the plot itself, in a kind of house of sticks called Abatío, maize house, and the woman little by little, as needed, brings it to the town for the daily meal and for the preparation of chicha (3).

3. If the harvest of gourds is not abundant, they put them on the maize in the same shed, if they do not build another; the bean crop is brought immediately to the tribe or town.

527 /257/ After this the Chiriguano spends his time in idleness, drinking here today, there tomorrow, visiting with some, playing with others, enjoying, in sum, with almost no work, a better life than the greatest ruler in the world. [221] The harvest is cut between May and June, and after it the libations in honor of the belly god begin. As the desire to drink is extraordinary, before having the general libation, the families, one by one, begin to make a small quantity of chicha to be drunk among a few friends and relatives.

S:Nordenskiöld E-8,4 (1908-1909. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

VI.

Domestic Animals.

Apart from the dog, the Chiriguano and Chané keep only European domestic animals. There is now no genuinely Indian breed of dogs here. Cattle-breeding is of some importance in certain parts, especially in the Caipipendi valley. Milking the cows is not understood. Some of these Indians keep large numbers of sheep and the women spin the wool and weave woollen stuffs. It is not known if they had wool in the pre-Columbian period, as it has not been ascertained whether these Indians kept llamas or not. Poultry are of great importance to the Chiriguano and Chané. The Indians in South-America were exceedingly quick to learn the art of poultry-keeping, thus, when CABOT touched the south coast of Brazil in 1526, he got plenty of hens from the Indians by barter.[1]) The Chiriguano and Chané have but few horses. They are not nearly such good equestrians as, for instance the Toba.

I have in my collection a riding whip stock made by the Chané. DEL CAMPANA depicts a very primitive saddle from the Chiriguano. I have seen similar saddles among the Toba Indians.

When these Indians acquired the European domestic animals, the chase must have lost in importance for them. They obtained their meat in another way. The possession of cattle compelled them to enclose their tilled ground, or to have it far removed from the pastures.

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[1]) MEDINA (2) T. 1, P. 438.

/186 cont./

It is strange that peoples who fish so much are acquainted with so little fishing gear. In my description of the Choroti and Ashluslay, we have already become familiar with this deficiency.

On the Rio Pilcomayo, Moberg and the author once wanted to give the Indians the benefit of our fishing experience and constructed a weir of which we were not a little proud. We set it out, firmly convinced that in the morning it would be full of fish. All we caught was wood and refuse of all sorts, and I cannot deny that the Indians ridiculed us a bit.

The reason for the poverty of these Indians with regard to fishing gear is not a lack of ideas, but a different one. There are, quite simply, few fishing methods suitable for these waters. Setting out a net at night is not feasible, for if a palometa fish gets into the net it immediately cuts it in two with its knife-sharp teeth. Fishing with a hook where there are such fish is also not enticing, for they bite off the hooks as easily as the lines, if these are not made of good material. In these tropical waters the fishing gear also rots more quickly than among us and thus should not be left in the water all night.

The Chiriguano and Chané have no vessels. On the other hand, they are extraordinary waders, and to wade in the rivers here during the rainy period is not exactly a small matter. If, however, one has the assistance of one of these Indians, one can cross if it is possible at all.

As an oddity I might mention that during my entire journey I never saw a native white or mestizo fishing. In Bolivia it is not refined to eat fresh fish. On the Rio Pilcomayo /187/ the officers of the military post almost never ate the delicious, fresh, salmon-like fish from the river, but preferred canned salmon from Alaska. Since this is very old by the time it reaches Bolivia, it tastes dreadful. Fishing with a hook is also the only method of fishing that the Indians learned from the whites.

As for domestic animals, the dog is the only one that the Chiriguano and Chané did not get from the whites. These dogs now seem to me to have a strong mixture of foreign blood. They always have names, for example, tirupotchi (old garment), /Fig. 91 appears here/ chapikáyu (yellow eyebrows). As a rule,

C /187 cont./
Ce
231 the Chiriguano and Chané have fewer horses, cows, donkeys, sheep, and goats than the Chorote and Ashluslay. On the other hand, they have more chickens and pigs. Sometimes one sees ducks, guinea fowl, and turkeys. In certain regions, as, for example, in the Caipipendi valley, where the Indians are wealthy, they also have much livestock. The whites, unfortunately, try in every way to cheat them out of what they have. Thus, it is not uncommon for a white man or a white woman to come into a village with a few kegs of spirits and to leave it with a couple of the best cows of the Indians. The whites are richer, the Indians poorer.

Ce
[184]
[556]

Ce
[439]

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227

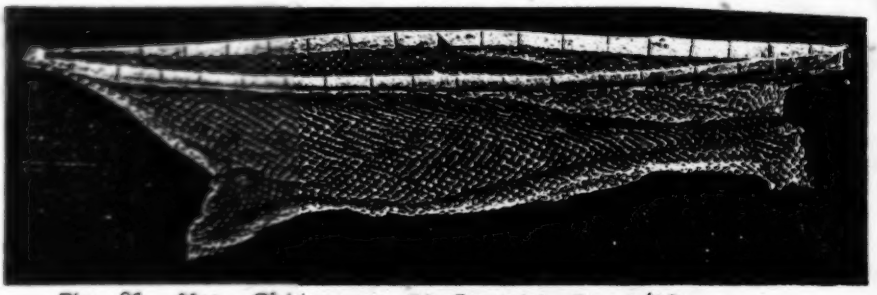

Fig. 91. Net. Chiriguano. Rio Parapiti. Ca. 1/12.

C
Ce
231 The menagerie of tamed wild animals which one sees in the villages
171 of the more primitive Indians is not to be found among /188/ these Indians. A parrot that talks a little Guarani, however, is not unusual in the huts.

Preparation of Food

C
Ce
252 The dirt that we come across in the preparation of food and eating among the Chorote and Ashluslay is not found /Fig. 92a appears here/ among the Chané and Chiriguano. On the other hand, the dishes are terribly monotonous. They consist of maize in every possible form, cooked maize, roasted maize, maize bread baked in ashes, maize flour porridge, and /189/ steamed maize flour. The latter is prepared in an apparatus illustrated here (Fig. 92).

Ce
[262]

Ce 343 182 171 231

/18 cont./ Their Purpose
today among the Chiriguano and Chané, as well as among the Matako and Churupí, is primarily to protect certain provisions against the numerous dogs and other domestic animals who are around in great number in every part of the town (74).

74. Concerning the question of the purpose of houses built upon posts with respect to damage by animals, cf. v. Rosen, op. cit., pp. 192-198.

Ce Ce 433 224 226

Food and Drink. Manner of Eating and Drinking.

Hunting and fishing are not very important in the economy of the Chiriguano and Chané. Their territory has relatively few edible animals, and they are not very brave hunters (75).

75. Nord. 2, p. XVI.

Ce Ce 224 262

Of animals that can be hunted, they eat the puma and the jaguar, while they scorn vultures, foxes, and the meat of monkeys, so craved by other Indians (76). One contribution

Ce Ce 226 184

76. Nord. 1, p. 190.

to their subsistence which is worth mentioning is that from fishing, but only for the Chiriguano and Chané who live near the upper Pilcomayo River, since that river has excellent fishing. These Indians cannot make much use of fishing in the Rio Grande, because today this river can be held to be almost the frontier of their territory. The Parapití River has many fish, but they are very small. While the Chané today live in territories where for several months some fish are available, many Chiriguano towns are so far from the larger streams that fish does not enter into the diet of their inhabitants (77). With

77. Nord. 2, pp. XV and XVI.

231 /18 cont./ With
262 respect to the eating of meat, the Chiriguano depend on their livestock, which, however, according to Nordenskiöld, since they omit the raising of pigs and chickens, is not so numerous as the livestock of the Chorote and the Churupí. They do not
262 241 eat the flesh of asses, horses, /19/ and dogs (78). Although

78. Nord. 1, p. 190.

we do not have exact data on the amount of meat that their livestock yields, we can suppose that it is not very great, and thus these Indians depend principally on vegetable foods, that is, on the products of their agriculture. We should say that, in comparison with maize, all other foodstuffs have almost no importance, except among the Indians of the Parapití, among whom the sweet potato is the most important food (79).

79. Nord. 1, p. 181.

261 In times of shortage they eat various wild plants, principally
273 the sweet pods of the algarroba (November-December), which, coarsely chopped up with water, they allow to ferment in order to produce a kind of chicha which has inebriating qualities (80).

80. Nord. 1, p. 236. Métraux I, pp. 361 and 362.

262 Since meals consist principally of maize, they are very
252 monotonous, although the maize is eaten by them in many different forms, either boiled or parched, or as a flour cooked in steam, as a fried maize-cake, in embers /rescoldo/, or as a soft maize-pudding (81). Meat is eaten roasted or boiled,

81. Nord. 1, pp. 188 and 189. Métraux I, pp. 356-358.

263 together with maize. Cooking salt is used at meals. While
317 previously salt (dyúki) was obtained from mines or extracted
439 from earth from salt licks /barreros/, today it is obtained

/38 cont./
Ce 412 773
of the Indians of South America who have agriculture. In one of these legends it is said that (177) Tunpa, after having

177. Nord. 1, p. 260.

created the grandparents of the Avás (Chiriguano) and Chané, gave them a wooden spade and a long carved stick, called "carumpa," and bows and arrows so that they might feed themselves with these implements. In the other legend it is told that the jaguar goes to get the punches when the fox
C 412
wants to help him plant his field (178). From the indications

178. Nord. 1, p. 289.

by Métraux mentioned in the foregoing, it follows that the Chiriguano still use such an implement in their agriculture.

C Ce 241 773
The Chiriguano in Machareti had some plantings near their town, but, because of the extraordinary drought at that time, these had produced nothing. The Izozó near Toledo had cleared large areas, but were unable to plant for the
Ce 241
same reason. According to Nordenskiöld (179), the large

179. Nord. 1, p. 183.

plantings of the Chiriguano and the Chané are often far from their towns and are enclosed by thickets.

The Raising of Livestock

C Ce 231
Of the domestic animals native to South America, the Chiriguano and the Chané have the South American dog, which today is mixed with the blood of European dogs (180).

180. Nord. 1, p. 187. Nord. 2, p. 49.

/38 cont./

C 23 179 194 Because the ancient Peruvians raised various breeds of dogs, we can assume that the Chiriguano received the dog as a domestic animal from the ancient Peruvians. We can assume the same with regard to the duck, which was also raised by the ancient Peruvians. Therefore I do not include the duck among the C [114] domestic animals that these Indians received from the whites, as Nordenskiöld does. We do not know whether the Chiriguano in times past might have raised the llama. From the fact that guanacos exist in the territory located between the Parapití and the Río Grande, we can deduce that the raising of that other species of Euchenia might have been possible in that country.

C [175] [648] The Chiriguano very early received such European domestic animals as the horse, the ass, the cow, sheep, goats, hogs, and chickens, which they captured in great quantities in their continual raids on the Spanish settlers. In 16th century documents there are repeated complaints about the extensive C Ce 49 41 648 361 stealing of livestock by these Indians. Today the Chiriguano and Chané do not have many horses, and they have never had the /39/ pronounced character of a nation of horsemen. The true weapons of war were formerly a long bow and arrows which were also long, which cannot be used by a mounted horseman, in addition to which their homes were formerly in the hills in C Ce 231 regions which the Spaniards could not enter on horseback. In certain parts of their territory the raising of cattle has some importance (181). More general is the raising of sheep, pigs,

181. See Métraux I, p. 340.

and chickens. Today one sometimes also finds among them guinea hens and turkeys (182).

182. Nord. 1, p. 137.

/39 cont./

Ee 231 Tamed wild animals are rarely found inside their houses, except that they do have some parrots (182) /see footnote 182 above/.

Hunting

Ee 224 [433] [411] [439] We have explained before that, because of the lack of animals that can be eaten in the territory of the Chiriguano and Chané, hunting is secondary among their means of subsistence, and in accordance with this we know through old documents that the feathers for their arrows were introduced to the Chiriguano by other Indian tribes who were their tributaries (183). The raising of domestic livestock gives them a

Ee [231]

183. Moreno II, 121.

C 224 greater opportunity to obtain animal foodstuffs. In accordance with the fact that the Chiriguano, at least today, are not first-class hunters, the most common method of hunting among them is the use of traps (184). Nordenskiöld describes three

C 223

184. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 206.

different kinds of traps, all three of which are used for catching birds (185). The first kind consists of a simple noose and is used

185. Nord. 2, pp. 32, 33, and 85, Fig. 10, 12, and 13.

C [191] with the help of calls. The second kind, which is common among various other tribes of Indians, is used, for example, also by the Kaingua /Caingua/. The third kind consists of a net made in two parts and fixed to the ground by means of stakes. In one Ee [193] [223] of the Chané legends recorded by Nordenskiöld, a trap for catching doves is mentioned (186).

186. Nord. 1, p. 279.

C 411 197 /43 cont./ The Chiriguano in Contact with the Quichua /Quechua/ also use another type of sling made of wool (200).

200. Métraux 1, p. 342 and Plate VII.

C 224 [411] According to Nordenskiöld, the Chiriguano also formerly used the bola, called "churima," by them, for hunting the ostrich (201).

201. Nord. 1, p. 183.

C [231] We must still mention that the Chiriguano train their dogs for hunting, especially for hunting pigs (202).

202. Nord. 2, p. 31. Métraux 1, p. 346.

Fishing

C 433 226 Because, as I have already mentioned, there is no opportunity for fishing in any part of the Chiriguano territory nd also the large rivers which are in their territory, except for the upper Pilcomayo River, do not offer any fish other than very small ones, fishing has only secondary importance in the economy of most of the Chiriguano, although they utilize every chance they have to fish.

C 227 Among the Chiriguano in Machareti I did not see any fishing equipment outside of the small arrows with wire points, which are occasionally used for fishing. But among the Izozó Ce 126 229 I acquired such a piece of equipment, which consists of a net bag that is closed at the top with two sticks of cane attached to the upper edge. (Cf. Figure 39.)